/142 cont./
101 162 311 circumstances because with their lower population density they are less seriously in need of land. But the same fate awaits them in the near future. In addition, the cutting of the forest has more serious consequences in this region because as a result exploitable timber is lost. Along the Tapanahoni, above the greater falls, woodcutting is impossible for the time being, so that the loss of wood in these districts does not as yet play an economic role here.

6. Measures toward Improvement

433 The question now is whether the grounds-operations of the Bush Negroes must be regulated by a higher authority. My advice is: The /143/ sooner improvement can be brought about in this, the better, and for the following reasons.

[311] 1st. Because of the grounds-system practiced from olden times, the Aucaners of the Tapanahoni in particular now have such a land shortage that further growth of the population is thereby hindered.

[262] 2nd. The food supply of this Bush Negro society is precarious and one-sided; this threatens to become more and more unfavorable, with the consequence that the health situation will require more and more care.

3rd. The Bush Negroes cannot be considered capable of bringing about changes for the better in these agricultural methods by themselves.

[167] 4th. Occupying these districts becomes less and less attractive for the younger generation, whereby a spreading of the [444] population over other areas takes place. The men try to find work in the lowlands or in the concerns in French Guiana.

5th. Through the wasteful use of land the supplies of wood along the rivers are in danger of becoming lost entirely.

6th. It is to be feared that unless help is offered through government channels in time to help this bush population out of the impasse, its social and economic retrogression will soon become seriously felt.

F 233 433 F [508] F 233 [132] [311] F [461] [464] F [433] [435] B 101 B 197 B 162 131 B 433 464

/10 cont./

Since about ten years ago Creole exploiters without any outside aid have built up a herd of several hundred head, principally with an eye to the provisioning of the mining center of Benzdorp. The existence of an airodrome and regular air connections permits envisaging the export of meat to the coast. The success of animal raising in the Upper Maroni seems to be attributable to a rainfall lower in total amount than on the coastal strip but better distributed, as well as to the nature of the soil. It is principally on the floodable alluvial strip bordering the river to a width of 500 to 600 meters that cattle find the most favorable conditions, taking refuge on the neighboring hills during the three weeks of annual inundation.

Winning pastures from the forest and defending them against the encroachment of the bush represents continual work, but it can be carried out on the Maroni far better than on the coast, thanks to the man power of the Refugee Blacks.

One cannot yet come to a conclusion on the profitableness of this animal raising. Like many other enterprises in Guiana it is handicapped by its too high cost price which prevents effective competition with imported products.

2) The populations of the Maroni, descending from rebel slaves of the 18th century, who are often called Refugee Blacks, are divided into three tribes: the Djuka, the Paramaka, and the Boni, whose customs are practically identical and whose dialects are very close. These dialects are variations of Taki-taki, vehicular language derived mainly from English, whose use was widespread in the time of slavery and which has become the national language of Surinam.

The Paramaka, 700 to 800 in number, occupy the lower part of the course of the Maroni from the first waterfall (Hermina) to the junction with Béiman Creek. They are not navigators but farmers and foresters, who furnish highly prized man power for the enterprises of the Saint-Laurent region.

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The Boni, about 1,000 in number, occupy the course of the Lawa between Abounasounga Falls to the north and the falls of the Litani to the south. Their "great villages," that is, their residential villages, are: Agodé (Boniville), Kotika, Asisi, Loka, Papaïston, Kormotibo, Lapé, and l'Enfant Perdu. Three small villages founded more recently are established on the lower course of the Maroni. The territorial implantation of the Boni has been disturbed by the settlement of Creole gold miners on their territory for three quarters of a century. Their demographic situation is mediocre and their tribal organization, compared to that of the other tribes, has lost much of its strength. However, they still make up a human grouping full of strength and originality.

The Djuka, whose "great villages" are in Surinam territory on the /il/ Tapanahoni, can be evaluated at 7,000 to 8,000 in total. At the height of demographic expansion, their farming villages swarm on both banks of the Maroni and on the islands, penetrating more and more deeply into the interior of French Guiana, where in places they form small temporary groupings living in symbiosis with the Creole gold miners; the Boni recognize their right to cross their territory but not that of establishing villages in it.

For a century the economy of the Refugee Blacks has been founded on a symbiosis with the Europeans and Creoles; they furnish specialized labor (construction, but above all, transport) in exchange for relatively high wages. This economy finds itself threatened by the gradual disappearance of gold mining; there is developing a tendency toward temporary emigration to the European work yards of Saint-Laurent analogous to that of the Saramaka of Surinam to French Guiana. This is a serious threat to the interior cohesion of the tribes.

/128 cont./

593 One of the commonplaces of ethnographic literature is
152 the feeling of frustration that the father would experience in a
429 matrilineal system when he is separated from his children.
Thoughts heard every now and then could allow one to believe
in the existence of such a feeling among the Refugee Blacks.
For example Balna, of Asisi village, tells us one day with bitter-
ness: "I have had eight children, all living..and I have been
given only one to bring up." But this is only a pretense. No
Refugee Black thinks seriously of bringing up the five or six
children he has had in the course of his life by three or four
[468] different women. Besides, this would be materially impossible
for him, considering the mode of life of the Refugee Blacks
and the necessity for the adult men to move ceaselessly in search
[163] of paid work. For example, by encouraging Balna to tell the
basis for his thought, it was not difficult to understand that he
would have liked to raise two or three of his eight children
(born of four different women), the ones he loved for subjective
reasons; the others scarcely interested him and it was all the
same to him whether they were brought up here or there.

429 In reality the paternal feeling of the Refugee Blacks is a
152 rather subjective thing; raising a son or a nephew is the same in
[601] their eyes. The same paternal feeling will develop, and in
both cases they will say "my son" and "my father."

593 Mothers give their children to be raised with the greatest
429 of ease, especially within the lineage.

[163] For example Eliana (Dju, F8), about 45 years old in 1957,
who had nine living children, was raising only four:

△ Atibi	1937	raised by his father Matapi (Asisi-Aw.B.);
△ Doni	1939	raised by his maternal grandmother Béniti (Dju, E5);
○ Aguba	1940	raised by Lènga (F36), Eliana's classificatory sister (tenth-degree kinship);
△ A...	1943	raised by his father Yusu (Papalston);

754 /241 cont./
[126] Several cases of wisi. We transcribe these affairs as they were related to us, placing ourselves in the perspective of the narrator, without making any judgment as to the nature of the facts and their probability.

N... affair. -- N..., of Kotika, was working gold with another Boni. After they had eaten /242/ together, the latter was taken with uncontrollable vomiting, then he died. His near relatives blamed N..., accusing him of wisi. In the night N... took refuge at Benzdorp and took passage on a Djuka [167] boat which was going down the river. He settled in Paramaribo. Since then his sister T... has gone to join him. They have left the Boni for good.

P... affair. -- Toko (Dipélu II), while boating on the lower river, wagered one morning with his friend Kwami (who told us the story) to stay in a dive for the time necessary to fill a five-liter demijohn; bet taken; Toko did not come back up, he had drowned. His body was found the next day. The family [578] blamed one P..., of Kotika village, whose wife N... had left him to marry Toko and who at the time had made threats. [683] They insulted him, they presented Toko's decomposed body to him: "Eat him, since thou hast killed him like game." P... stubbornly denied it. The grand man commanded that he be left alone, turning him over to Odun to punish if he were guilty. As a matter of fact, some time afterward, P... died and was declared wisimi.

• [464] S... affair. -- About 1955, S..., of Kotika, about 60 years old, was working with Kwau weeding the clearings of a Benzdorp Creole who raised oxen. One morning this cattle-raiser saw one of his oxen covered with blood coming from wounds which bore tooth marks and could not have been made by bats. He followed the traces of blood which led him to S...'s hammock.

/250 cont./

789 396 There exist special ɔbia for the building of boats. The opening of the hull in the fire, a delicate operation, sometimes fails. To insure its success everyone possesses a personal recipe inherited from his father or uncle. It does not call by name and directly upon the action of a god; the Boni do not have a clear idea about the origin or the nature of these rites. It is a matter of a maceration of two or three kinds of leaves, generally belonging to the secondary flora which surrounds the villages, and they vary from one man to another. One pours this maceration over the overturned boat before the burning is begun, while saying: "The boat must not split, it must open well."

832 [693] The laws of Odun forbid the use of charms aimed at forcing the love of a woman one desires; that would infringe on a person's freedom, therefore wisi. It is very /251/ possible however that certain people go to get charms of this kind from Creole magicians. But they take for granted, on the other hand, the ɔbia believed to permit men who have little success with women to have more in the future.

951 789 There does not seem to be any hierarchy of ɔbia nor is one category of ɔbia believed to be stronger by nature than another; in fact, the Refugee Blacks are seen to go readily to ask one divinity for an ɔbia in order to protect themselves from another. Here is an example:

464 [648] In 1951 the administration had a systematic cleaning of the Petit Inini River begun, in order to rid its course of innumerable pieces of fallen wood which were making the use of motors on boats difficult. A team of Boni were employed in [776] [787] this work under the direction of a Creole foreman. While the work was being done, a Papa gadu "came into the head" of an old woman named M... of the Awara Bakka lo. It revealed that it was opposed to this work, for it lived in exactly this 464 776 place and the noise of the motors bothered it. Upon their return to Boni country, the men charged with this work learned the

/251 cont./

464 decision of the god and under some pretext or other refused to
776 resume work. In August, 1952, while we were on a work trip
751 /en mission/, an ɔbiamɛ̃ made it known that an Ampuku was
791 willing to give a tapu, that is, an ɔbia of protection, against
this Papa gadu. We were present at a discussion in the course
[465] of which several Boni planned to take up this work again, but
asking for raised wages to cover the expenses of the ɔbia (1).

[171]

1. Situations of this kind are common in the Guianan forest, even among Creoles. For difficult or unusual work, the high wages demanded serve in part to remunerate magicians.

751 These expenses amounted to about 5,000 francs per person, or:
435 --3,000 for the payment of the god, including red cloth,
791 dark-blue cloth, white beads, beer, rum, cowries; the ɔbiamɛ̃ would take them to set them out in the forest.

--1,500 for payment for the work of the ɔbiamɛ̃, including a piece of canvas /ɔile/, beer, a container /bidon/ of powder, a chicken.

751 The remedy would consist of an infusion of leaves with which one should "wash one's body" morning and evening for the duration of the work.

As for the Creole foreman, he prudently had himself assigned to another job.

751 They have the habit of asking an Ampuku for protection
776 against a Papa gadu and conversely (we have cited an example of this above), but they do not ask a Kumɛ̃nti for protection; the Kumɛ̃nti occupy themselves only with illnesses.

/290 cont./

695 461 157 The Refugee Blacks have a sense of contract to a high degree, and they bring /291/ to the execution of work to which they have committed themselves qualities of seriousness, initiative, and a sense of duty not found to the same degree in Black Africa.

157 671 571 Refusal of any lasting commitment. If the Refugee Blacks honor their contracts, they do not like to commit themselves for a long period.

This attitude results from their desire for independence, but also from the moral and religious law which governs their society.

This law forbids infringing on the liberty of persons, humiliating anyone, and doing anything which might be able to plunge him into anger or affliction. Its effect is to prevent any exploitation of the weak, any creation of a servant or proletarian caste. It even leads to the absence of any permanent subordination of one man to another.

[466] The desire for independence of the Refugee Blacks makes them unwilling to bind themselves definitively to a job, however profitable. When a man judges that he has put aside sufficient savings, he leaves the job which furnished him with these resources.

[464] This tendency makes the search for paid work much more difficult and hazardous; it happens that a man may stay for years without finding gainful work, living in straitened circumstances. But that is the price of independence, and it is accepted without hesitation.

/291 cont./

157 464 463 Wishing to take advantage of all the possibilities which turn up, the Refugee Blacks are led to learn simultaneously the traditional techniques of their group, boating, boat-building, felling of trees, squaring of wood, and /building/ framework. In these techniques they may be considered specialized workers.

157 812 Proud of their strength and knowledge, sure of themselves, the Refugee Blacks are never worried about the future and consider life as an exciting adventure, ceaselessly bringing new things. If the past year has been bad, the new year will be better, with God's help. Nobody doubts that he will find gainful work again.

152 182 Influence of jealousy: absence of specialized professions and trade. Another strong psychological tendency having a direct influence on the economy is jealousy.

152 828 556 953 999 The effect of jealousy, and the fear of jealousy, is to limit enrichment and to maintain a de facto equality: it often happens that talented people forego undertaking profitable work in order not to give occasion for the jealousy which would render their position in the village difficult and might draw misfortunes upon them; for people have the idea that jealousy draws down illnesses and calamities upon him who is the object of it and on his near relatives, by the action of a natural force, even without sorcery being formulated.

754 556 441 829 Fear of sorcery interferes in the same way; one who becomes unusually rich is almost inevitably accused of being a sorcerer and may be obliged to leave the country. Particularly vulnerable are those, very rare, who engage in trade. People do not suspect of sorcery a man who is seen to become rich by /292/ working ceaselessly. But the trader whose wealth increases without his furnishing obvious work, is quickly regarded as a "committed one," accused of having his good luck as a result of a pact with the devil.

/295 cont./
648 Indians to trade with them than with the Europeans and Creoles; the Boni are a graded society in which things tend to take place according to well-defined norms. It suffices to compare the Oayana Indians, who have kept the essentials of their civilization, with the Indians of the Oyapok to be convinced that the Boni have protected the former much more than they have oppressed them.

[464] Relations with the Creoles. The Boni are in constant contact with Creole gold miners and traders, for the benefit of whom they carry out many kinds of work (boating, tree-felling, construction). Most of them speak the Creole dialect very well and are well informed on the Creole type of life.
[191 829]

On the whole, relations between the two groups are good. [829] On the Upper Maroni, it is mainly a matter of Creoles of African blood, who have come from the British West Indies, whom the Boni do not consider to be extremely different from themselves. Many have been settled there for a very long time, and individual friendships have become established; yet the two groups have not the least tendency to merge.

/296/ The Creoles have only scorn for the civilization of the Refugee Blacks, which reminds them of a detested African past. They have a feeling of superiority and do not cease exhorting the Boni to adopt their clothing and way of life.

829 The feelings that the Boni have toward the Creoles are complex; they clearly perceive that the activity of the gold miners is artificial and that isolated people are incapable of living by their own efforts in the midst of this pitiless forest. When they have become old and sick, the gold miners experience the worst distress and literally die of hunger until they are
888 evacuated to the hospice of Saint Laurent. Among the Refugee Blacks, old men are assured of a decent life in the midst of the members of their lineage, who surround them with affectionate respect.

/296 cont./

888 829 This is a point of view which has great importance in the eyes of the Boni, for whom finishing one's days at the hospice or being reduced to asking for the help of outsiders constitutes the worst downfall.

829 They fear, moreover, as we have shown, Creole magic which they liken to a form of wisi.

On the other hand, they are impressed by the attainments of the Creoles, the real spirit of initiative and the strong personality of some of them; moreover, the Boni who have been to Cayenne have noticed the solicitude of the administration with respect to the population of the communes. For all these reasons there exists among the Boni a certain body of opinion in favor of creolization. But the very unique type of life of the Boni and their desire to keep their special customs attach them to their ancestral form of life; about 1890 the explorer Coudreau, observing the same facts, was predicting imminent creolization of the Boni. In fact, this did not happen, and it is unlikely to.

829 177 178 [114]

648 464 Traditional relations with Europeans. The Refugee Blacks constitute an important element in the economic life of the Guianas; on behalf of the administration and European enterprises they perform many jobs (boating, wood-floating, tree-felling). They are not well adapted to other kinds of work, but in these activities which fit with their traditional mode of life they are equal if not superior to any labor. Very highly paid, they work with speed, effectiveness, and intelligence, exhibiting an initiative and sense of duty not commonly found in Africans(1).

648 461 [465]

[177]

1. It is to be noted that if they stop leading their traditional kind of life, for example if they settle permanently near European establishments, they rapidly lose these qualities.